

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CU-02 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05

ACDA-05 EA-07 BIB-01 /094 W  
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R 111040Z OCT 75

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5907

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY BONN

C O N F I D E N T I A L STOCKHOLM 5178

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, SW

SUBJECT: SWEDISH VIEWS ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION

REF: STATE 239977

1. IN THE COURSE OF MY MEETING WITH MFA SECRETARY GENERAL  
SVERKER ASTROM OCTOBER 10 ON THE KOREAN ISSUE I MENTIONED THAT  
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WE PLANNED TO CONSULT SHORTLY WITH HIS MINISTRY IN SOME DETAIL

ABOUT CSCE IMPLEMENTATION. ASTROM THEN OFFERED SEVERAL COMMENTS BY WAY OF AN OVER-VIEW OF CSCE, SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS.

2. THE SWEDISH MFA IS SETTING UP A WORKING GROUP TO FOLLOW CSCE IMPLEMENTATION IN PREPARATION FOR THE BELGRADE MEETING IN 1977. SWEDEN SEES CSCE AS THE DE FACTO SETTLEMENT OF WORLD WAR II AND OF THE COLD WAR. IT STILL SEEMS SURPRISING TO THE GOS THAT THE SOVIETS WERE WILLING TO PAY SO HIGH A PRICE TO CONSECRATE A DETENTE ACHIEVED ALREADY WITH THE SIGNATURE OF THE GERMAN-SOVIET AND BERLIN ACCORDS.

3. THE GOS DOES NOT SEE THAT THE END OF THE COLD WAR MEANS OR SHOULD MEAN AN END TO IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION. IT IS MORE THAN EVER NECESSARY TO CONTINUE AND EVEN TO INTENSIFY THE IDEOLOGICAL DIALOGUE, BUT WITHOUT THE THREAT OF ARMED CONFRONTATION.

4. SWEDEN SEEKS TO GIVE ABIDING MEANING TO THE CSCE AGREEMENT BY INCORPORATING ITS ELEMENTS INTO BILATERAL AGREEMENTS WITH EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES AS FOR EXAMPLE IN THE SWEDISH-POLISH AGREEMENTS OF JUNE 1975. THESE INCORPORATED ALMOST VERBATIM THREE PARAGRAPHS FROM THE HELSINKI DOCUMENT EVEN BEFORE IT WAS FORMALLY SIGNED.

5. THE SPIRIT OF HELSINKI SHOULD BE MADE MANIFEST IN FREER EAST-WEST EXCHANGES. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE GOS WILL BE CONCERNED TO SEE WHETHER THE SOVIET AND EASTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS ARE TIGHTENING OR LOOSENING THEIR CONTROLS, AND ALSO WHETHER THE WEST IS SLACKENING ITS DEFENSES OR YIELDING DEVELOPING CAUTION TO EUPHORIA.

6. THE GOS SEES THE CSCE AS, ON BALANCE, OF FAVORING THE WEST. IT SEES IMPLEMENTATION AS INTEGRAL TO DETENTE. THE SOVIETS WILL REALISTICALLY EXPECT TO BE HELD TO THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT BY THE WEST. THE WEST, HOWEVER, SHOULD NOT PRESS FOR IMPLEMENTATION IN ANY SPITEFUL WAY.  
STRAUSZ-HUPE

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